

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

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Craft Unionism.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

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The "Industrial Workers of the World" mentioned, has since changed its name to the "Workers' International Industrial Union."

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.

I shall occupy your time no longer. I think that no more argument is required in support of our position. The present mode of the constitution states clearly that the new workers the object of the Industrial Workers. You will find it written there that the workers and capitalists are not to be separated. That there are a few who have all the good things of life, while millions writhe in poverty and cry out in despair, that those who do everything and produce nothing are rich, while those who do everything and produce nothing are poor. That these two classes are separated by the tools they do not own, and the workers who own the tools do not own them. That these capitalists who own the tools have in their power to take and do take from the workers what they produce, and that the workers must organize both their economic and political power to take and hold that which they produce by their labor. This is brief and to the point, and every working man is capable of understanding it.

As the chairman has stated, the Industrial Workers has no object in concealing its mission, and while it proposes to ameliorate the condition of the workers in every way in its power as far as that is possible in capitalist society, its ultimate object is to entirely abolish the capitalist system, by making the workers themselves the masters of their tools, that they may work freely, unrestrained and unexploited; that they may secure to themselves and enjoy all the fruit of their own labor.

This is the object of the Industrial Workers, and if it has your approval, join it and help to fulfill its mission, and thus hasten the emancipation of the working class, and the brighter, happier day for all humanity.

QUESTIONS.

Q. In the Industrial Workers, are you going to separate the different trades, or are you going to join the privilege of going where one chooses?

Mr. Debs: He joins the department that represents his particular trade or occupation. The Industrial Workers is organized in separate departments, so that the autonomy of the trade is preserved within the organization. Take the men of a certain trade; they belong to a certain department of the organization; they have jurisdiction over their own trade affairs. They are subject, however, to the supervision of the general organization. Take the machinists, for instance; they have a grievance; it will be adjusted, primarily, if possible, within their own department. If that is not possible then it becomes the grievance of the general organization—the concern of all. Instead of merely the machinists going out on strike as now, all their fellow-workers lay down their tools and support them to the finish.

Q. Is it true that the Industrial Workers was organized because the workers cannot gain anything by political action.

Mr. Debs: No, that is not true. The workers have never yet tried to get anything by united political action. They will some time, I do not doubt. The Industrial Workers was organized because under the old form of organization

they could get little or nothing by economic action. If they had secured satisfactory concessions under the old forms there would be no Industrial Workers. It has been organized because of the failure of the old unions on the economic field. Now, if it can be shown that they have succeeded, or even measurably succeeded, then there is no necessity for the Industrial Workers. But, if on the other hand, it can be shown that they have repeatedly and wretchedly failed, then there is an unanswerable argument in favour of the Industrial Workers.

Q. What is a tradesman or a skilled worker? Why should there be any distinction between a tradesman and any other worker in a shop?

Mr. Debs: That is not a very easy question to answer. There used to be a great many skilled mechanics who are now common workers. In proportion as machinery is improved the skill of the trade is transferred from the worker to the machine, and the skilled labor of one day becomes the common labor of the next. The locomotive engineer has always regarded himself as a skilled worker, and he has refused to affiliate with what is called the common labourer. Within the next few years the locomotive engineer will probably become a motor-man and he will then come off the perch. The work will be so simple that almost any worker can perform it. Where I live there used to be a number of cooper shops in which there were skilled men; and they had a large and strong Coopers' Union. All the coopers that worked there belonged to it. And these coopers didn't have anything to do with common labor. They flocked by themselves upon the theory that they were skilled men and could not afford to put their skill on the same level with the common labor of unskilled workers. During the last few years that trade has undergone a complete change. The skilled coopers have practically disappeared and but a shadow of the old union remains.

Now, if you will ask that old cooper, who was a skilled man and belonged to a union that represented skilled labor a few years ago—if you will ask him who the skilled man is, I think he can give you a satisfactory answer to your question. The skill of the trade is being gradually eliminated, and we are taking cognizance of this fact. We Industrial Workers recognize no aristocracy of skill. If any partiality were to be shown, however, I would give the unskilled man the benefit of it, because he needs it most. But there is no such discrimination in the Industrial Workers. The working man, skilled or unskilled, is a worker; a man; and whatever his occupation, has all of the wants and aspirations and is entitled to all the rights and opportunities of a human being for self-development. The machine is rapidly reducing workers to a common industrial equality, making the unskilled man the productive equal of the skilled man. The machine is the skilled man, and when he gets through that question will have answered itself.

Q. Does the Industrial Workers make any provision for a wage scale?

Mr. Debs: Yes; it is going to get all the wages for its members that it possibly can, while the wage system lasts.

Q. How are you going to prevent the leaders from being as bad as those of the trade unions are to-day?

Mr. Debs: In the first place, there will be but a single organization. There will not be a hundred different and conflicting organizations and so many different sets of officers.

Q. Then they will have only one to buy; it won't cost so much.

Mr. Debs: All the chances will be reduced to the minimum. Take the railroad brotherhoods for instance. If every locomotive engineer running into Chicago voted to-morrow to go out on strike, they could not go out without the official sanction of the Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and

THE TOILERS AND THE SPOILERS.

The furnace blasts and the clanging sound
Of fire and steam and steel,
And the sweaty man that slings the sledge
Too weary and wasted to feel,
While the park drives stream with gay
and proud
And selfish employers—why
Are men strong and sinewed and crazed
with heat
Pinned up in the mills to die?

The hammers pelt like hail in hell,
And hissing fires glare,
And the ill-shaped work-worn slaves toil
on,
And who in the park drives care?
While the August sun makes lovers seek
The shadiest glen in the park,
The hammers swing in these sweltering
rooms
Where the red beams sputter and spark.

They bathe bare-limbed on the docks at
sea,
And sit starched up in the shade.
But the steel mills' inhuman sweat-soaked
dregs
Are the soul-sick sights they've made.
They sip iced drinks and idly stretch
As the hours tinkle away,
While men are driven to death in hell
With the food of a beast in pay.

Then ill-kept poverty's sadden dregs
Come bent with the empty pail
From the Carnegie mills where the blood-
smeared steel
Rolls out as a railroad rail.
The dukes and dames and lice of the thr,
Who wouldn't pick up a
Ride forth in their be
bright,
With the paint and flow rs of an
—Clare re. blem.

he alone could prevent the strike. That is, they might vote unanimously to strike, but the power of one single grand officer would outweigh that of the entire organization. With us it is the rank and file that decides and is the supreme power. It is not likely they will sell themselves out. Besides, the Industrial Workers is made up of a body of class conscious industrial revolutionists, who will not be sold out. They are wide awake workers who think for themselves, and act for themselves, and that is why they are in the Industrial Workers. The old trade unions are mainly run by the officers. Didn't you notice by the papers this morning that the coal operators who were here in session declared that they proposed to deal, not with the rank and file, the common herd, but with the national officers of the union? They will settle things, and that is how they are generally settled in the old unions; but that is not the way they will be settled in the Industrial Workers.

This is an important point. Take a plant such as a brewery, for instance; a score of different kinds of labor represented by as many different organizations, and as many different sets of officers. Here are temptation and opportunity multiplied by twenty. Here we have wide open chances and incentive to bribery, corruption and treachery. Suppose now, that the same plant is organized in the Industrial Workers. Instead of being parcelled out among twenty different unions they are all embraced in one. The men in one department have a grievance. That plant has a general committee; and if the grievance fails of adjustment in the department in which it arises, it is referred to the general committee that has supervision of the plant, and if they fail to satisfactorily adjust it, the matter goes to all the employees, as Industrial Workers, for action. They vote to go out on strike, and that settles it. In the Industrial Workers no national officer and no set of national officers have power to override the action of the rank and file. And when they vote to go out, they go out and stay out, until they vote to go back.

COURAGE.

Have you missed in your aim?
Well, the mark is still shining,
Did you faint in the race? Well, take
breath for the next.
Did the clouds drive you back?
But see yonder their lining:
Were you tempted and fell? Let it serve
for a text.
As each year hurries by let it join that
procession
Of skeleton shapes that march down to
the Past.
While you take your place in the line of
Progression,
With your eyes on the heavens, your
face to the blast.
I tell you the future can hold no terrors.
For any sad soul while the stars revolve,
If he will stand firm on the grave of his
errors,
And instead of regretting resolve, re-
solve.
It is never too late to begin re-building,
Though all into ruins your life seems
hurled.
For see how the light of the New Year
is gilding
The wan, worn face of the bruised old
world.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT?

Cover them o'er with the dollar sign,
Anguish of living and stress of soul;
Bury it deeply, the spark divine—
Mammon, our monarch, demands his toll.
All that is good in the dear God's plan,
Love to illumine some pathway dark,
Virtue of woman and honour of man—
Why should they count 'gainst the dollar
mark?

Ay, but there cometh there cometh a day
In a little, low room by the cloud-
wraiths crossed,
When haply your soul to your soul shall
say,
"How petty the gain, and how great
was its cost!"

Pile up your treasure in glittering heaps—
Never you mind though the home-less sigh—
Forget, as he sows, so the sower reaps—
Why should you heed that the starving die?
Bow unto Mammon, or cringe and crawl.
The dollar mark still is the badge of suc-
cess,
And love of a brother we need not at all
Man's plaudits to win on the road that we
press.

But after the end and the flitting of
breath,
When the body, outworn, to its ashes
is tossed,
When we stand face to face with the
Angel of Death,
What have we gained, and—what have
we lost?

There in the mills our babies are bound—
Hold fast your dollars, the price of their
woe.
There in the sweatshop dumb anguish is
found—
Glitter with diamonds, nor heed that 'tis
so.
But, oh, if perchance there is o'er us a God,
A great God of Justice, a dear God of Love,
Who heeds all the ways by our mortal feet
trod,
How shall we answer when summoned
above?

Face to face with the brother who suf-
fered from greed;
Face to face with the weary, down-
trodden of men,
There, in that hour of our ultimate need,
What shall the dollar mark profit us
then?

—A. J. Waterhouse.

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of the last issue to be posted will be indicated.Women and Industrial
Unionism.

By Marcia.

It has often been stated, especially from Socialist platforms, and in their literature, that women do not realise their own importance in society; this is perhaps not surprising when we look back into the past and consider the position which the "weaker sex" have occupied for ages and ages, and understanding fully how for years past and gone, woman has been ground down and looked upon as both mentally and physically inferior to man; it is quite feasible, in fact inevitable that women as a whole should come to regard their secondary place as quite natural; that slavery to slaves is quite right, and to make no effort or attempt to better the conditions which have fettered them so long.

Up until quite recently, although it was usual for girls to work until they were married, or if not married until they were no longer fit for work, yet they were employed because their labor power cost less than that of men, also their employment was limited to certain industries, and their inferiority was a recognised fact.

Now, however, conditions are changing somewhat. Since the war, especially in the European countries, women have proved themselves capable of taking the places of men, and are forming a most important part in the industrial world today.

It is undoubtedly necessary then, with the great influx of women into the workshops and factories, that some form of industrial organisation be inaugurated; the capitalist class is still of the opinion that although a woman may produce as much as a man, her standard of wages must be considerably lower, consequently it does and will require hard fighting to obtain anything like reasonable conditions under which to live.

The question therefore naturally arises, what shape and form is such an organisation to take? Craft unions, of course, admit women into their ranks, and there are not wanting people who state that organisation on craft lines will be sufficient for the future.

To those, however, who think a little and study the question thoroughly, it must become very obvious that craft unionism for women as for men is obsolete, and a different organisation must take its place.

The late strike demonstrated as well for women as for men, the failure of the present form of unionism. Each time the women endeavoured to assist their fellow workers in their struggle for better conditions, they were beaten back, by other loyal (?) women who took their places; and what is more, a volunteer bureau was formed, and is still in existence, so that any further attempts at striking will quickly be nipped in the bud.

To still further prove the uselessness or

In ancient Rome when Pagan religion and philosophy were breaking down under the strain of new conditions and the consequent necessity for new ideas suitable to such conditions, there appeared in response to the imperative intellectual demand of the time, a multitude of new religions clamouring for popularity and festooned with luxurious promises of future happiness conditioned on the acceptance of the new brand of superstition.

In our day Christianity is manifestly breaking down, and new creeds are daily seen on the intellectual horizon, hastening to the relief of disappointed devotees. A few years ago we had the "liberal" religion of Rev. R. J. Campbell, containing certain amendments deemed necessary to make Christianity presentable to modern minds; then Bergson appeared with his theory of intuition claiming the superiority of instinct to acquired and verified knowledge.

Lately the well-known imaginative writer, Mr. H. G. Wells, claims attention in his book, "God the Invisible King," to a version of religion guaranteed to satisfy the most fastidious. Like most religionists he assumes the existence of God—he is sure He exists. Some time ago an English writer said, "I know God exists, I feel it in my bones." Some persons may not be able to distinguish between religion and rheumatism. Anyway, it is an old trick to take for granted the question most in dispute. Having found Him he discovers He is finite also, "a strongly marked and knowable personality." Yet notwithstanding this familiarity we are assured "He is immaterial, yet He can affect the material universe." He is not of matter nor of space, but is a spirit having a beginning but no end. Where He came from no man knoweth, and seeing He has no

illogical attitude of craft unionism towards women, any endeavour on the part of the latter to obtain equal wages for both sexes, when engaged in the same work, has been indignantly opposed on the part of the men.

As the opposition is in most cases not based upon the economic knowledge which shows such a state of affairs to be impossible, it serves to prove the truth of the contention that craft unions have outlived their usefulness.

In any case, we contend, as socialists, that unionism as we know it to-day, cannot, even in its most perfect form, be of any use to the workers of either sex, because it acknowledges the right of exploitation, and prates about a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, etc. We know that while we are robbed of two-thirds of what we produce, there can be no such thing as a "fair wage."

We, as workers, are simply exploited for the benefit of the capitalist class. The latter has the whip hand over us, because he owns the means by which all wealth is produced, i.e., the tools of production and machinery; and he is quick to realise this fact, and exact to the uttermost fraction his "pound of flesh."

When we come down to the hard rock of facts like this, and become convinced like the capitalist is, that our interests are absolutely opposed to those of the masters, it will prove to us as nothing else will, the futility of any organisation which has for its object anything but the complete overthrow of the system.

Now that women have become such an important asset in the industrial world, it is inevitable that they will find it necessary to reorganise their forces, and that is why at every possible opportunity we urge the need for Revolutionary Unionism; a unionism which organises on class lines, and has for its battle cry "the world for the workers."

We ask no concessions, we do not grovel for more wages, or less hours; we do not talk clap trap about capital and labour going hand in hand; only the one great object, the taking and holding of the tools of production, and instead of running industry for others, to run it for ourselves.

Women wage earners, we call upon you to link up with the Workers' International Industrial Union; it needs class

connection with matter no man ever can, or could know. Still He can be known "as one knows a friend." "His nature is of the nature of thought and will." But thought is indissolubly connected with brain and nerves, and arises from them, so the comparison fails at that point.

If God is independent of matter then He differs altogether from thought and will. It is simply superfluous and a waste of time discussing the attributes of mythical beings, and if Mr. Wells had contented himself with dwelling on the attributes of the creature of his imagination, discussion would be needless, since no one knows or can know anything of a creature having no relation to matter, who is, therefore, composed of nothing yet had a beginning, but will never have an end; we might merely observe in passing how was it he happened to get the particulars—particularly the knowledge his alleged spirit has no end to his life and how anything completely divorced from matter can affect matter.

But Mr. Wells proceeds to say, that the late Professor Metchnikoff and Mr. Joseph McCabe are, or were, unknown to themselves, followers or agents of Mr. Wells' unknown god; and what is more to the point to Socialists, and the cause of this criticism of an otherwise scarcely worth noticing book, he asserts that without belief in God the service of man "is no better than a hobby or a sentimentalality, or a hypocrisy in the undisciplined prison of the mortal life."

It was justly said of Carlyle, that notwithstanding his display of liberal religious views, he never succeeded in wholly freeing himself from the pessimism inherent in Presbyterianism; and Wells in his use of the words "prison of the mortal life," shows that despite his frequent

conscious workers in its ranks; and, oh! how sadly do the whole of the workers need it. Especially now, we appeal to women, for although as we have already stated, woman is gradually becoming aware of her importance in society; yet it is absolutely impossible while capitalism lasts for her to take her true place as man's economic equal.

This fact alone should be sufficient to make all women wage earners line up with the W.I.I.U., surely they are not satisfied with their subordinate position. When they become convinced that the door of their emancipation opens with the inauguration of the Socialist Republic, surely they will do all in their power to bring it about.

Women wage earners can join the One Great Union, and although joining up is barred from others who do not actually function in industry, yet it is by no means permissible for the latter to sit idly by and make no effort for themselves.

The Socialist Party is open for everyone, and by medium of it, women who are not wage earners can do their part in bringing about their emancipation. We do not attempt here to go into a detailed account of conditions under which women exist to-day; that has been done often before, and every day happenings go to prove the deplorable position of women at the present time; but we do urge upon all women, of all nations, that the time is ripe for organisation, and that the clarion call of revolution which is sounding throughout the world is not only for men, but for women also.

It cannot be repeated too often, how much they have to gain by socialism, and surely they will not be deaf to the call. If women can work hours and hours a day, and are ready and willing to take the lowest and most degrading occupations in order that their menfolk may do what they fondly think to be their duty, it is unbelievable that, when they come to a realisation of where their true duty lies, and that their economic interests lie in the same direction, they will not throw into the cause "that alone is worthy," the energy and unflagging zeal which is being so misused at present.

Women of the working class, we want you now in the W.I.I.U., and in the socialist movement, there is work for everyone to do, and the sooner the better; organise and educate for the day of emancipation.

The Religion of Mr. Wells.

By F. Sutherland.

use of the word "modern" to distinguish his views on religion from those prevailing in our day, he has not yet succeeded in emancipating himself from equally gloomy English Puritanism. His modernism is tainted. He reviews Metchnikoff's ideas expressed in the great work, "Nature of Man," where the distinguished scientist expressly states that the disharmonies of our nature can only be removed by science or a more thorough knowledge of nature and of ourselves. No one who has read the book referred to could doubt its pure materialism, yet Mr. Wells calls Metchnikoff a "religious materialist," and like one of Dickens' characters, who always put the head of King Charles in every subject he treated on, Wells finds that Metchnikoff unconsciously was a follower of the "modern" God.

A "religious materialist" reminds me of an American who called himself a "Christian Atheist," because, said he in effect, "I believe neither in God nor of course the divinity of Christ, but as Christianity is purely the belief in, and practise of the moral maxims preached by Jesus, I believe in Christian ethics, therefore, I am a Christian though an Atheist." Another mental kink like the "Christian Socialist."

Far nearer to Metchnikoff's meaning was Mr. Lecky in his "History of European Morals," where, speaking on the natural history of morals, he says it is probable "that every passion or characteristic tendency has a physical predisposing cause, and that if we are acquainted with these we might trace to their source the many varieties of moral disease, as systematically as we now treat physical disease." The disharmonies existing in the human body cannot be removed by accurate knowledge of our bodies, not by appeals to mythical deities.

Equally does Mr. Wells travesty Mr. McCabe, when he quotes the following from "The Tyranny of Shams," "Mr. McCabe says, 'The aim of the race must be a collective aim'—and again, 'the revolt which burns in so much of the able literature of our time is an unselfish revolt or non-selfish revolt, it is the outcome of that larger spirit which conceives the self to be a part of the general social organism, and it is therefore neither egoistic nor altruistic.'" Says Wells, "That 'larger spirit' we maintain is God; those impulses are the power of God, and Mr. McCabe serves a master he denies." Once more, Mr. Wells rears up his pet Mr. Charles' head.

But what, after all, is this "larger spirit" or impulse spurring the human being to action? It is what we call in the animal world, the "herd instinct," in human beings, the "social instinct." It is the instinct which amongst the wild swine in the Sunderlands of India, impels the ferocious boar to fight the tiger to the death, in defence of the tiniest piggy of the mob if attacked; and so through the scale of animal life, until we find the predatory apes of Natal, when pursued on returning from a nocturnal raid on the farmer's entablature, form a cordon around their helpless and leg-weary young ones and defend them against the fierce onslaught of the farmer's dogs.

In the human race, for untold ages co-operation was absolutely necessary if the race was to survive in its struggle for existence against monstrous carnivorous animals, and the equally dangerous forces of nature. It was no question of selfishness, or altruism, of larger spirits or lesser ones, but sheer necessity; of self-preservation of the individual and of the race. The individual never hesitated, any more than the animal hesitates to sacrifice itself on behalf of the general safety.

Co-operation was not the result of a theory, but of stern necessity. The safety, yea, the very life of the individual, depended on the safety of the tribe, it was each for all and all for each every time. As man progressed, as his enemies decreased, and as more and more

he understood the blind forces of nature, and the forces of production increased sufficiently to maintain a parasitic caste to protect them, and to place the dispossessed or slave class as a buffer between them and nature, the ideas of co-operation gave way to the class struggle which prevails to this very day.

The parasitic class hates the very idea

Capital and Labor.

By Archibald Crawford.

of social co-operation, because not co-operation but force and murder and conquest and slavery secured, and to-day along with fraud secures them the supremacy they maintain. The god idea stood them in many a fateful hour, and to-day instead of thanking the slave class for their means of subsistence, they thank God from whom all blessings flow. They enlarge on the munificence of Nature its wealth of resources, and ascribe it all to a kind providence. Had they, like the working class, to take part in the grim struggle with nature, they would alter their views on nature somewhat.

True enough, man after ages of struggle has discovered enough about nature to ensure a comfortable existence for all, if only men would once more co-operate as of old to struggle against nature instead of amongst themselves. But plunder is so bred in the bone of the parasites, that even when war threatens them they cannot emancipate themselves from evil habits. Like the "converted" pick-pocket at a revival meeting, who found himself without a coin, when the collection plate was being passed around, speedily picked the pocket of his neighbour and dropped the coin in the plate; so even in war and national peril, the parasite instinctively robs his fellowmen from sheer force of habit. So wedded are they to predatory individualism, that they or their spokesmen, such as Mr. Wells, cannot understand, in their crass ignorance call it foolishness or hypocrisy.

Worthy spokesman Mr. Wells, of the false, brutal, cannibalistic, capitalistic class, murderers of working men and despoilers of their widows and children, who make the working class mere beasts of burden, their sons their slaves by day and their daughters their slaves by night, to them the social instinct must appeal a myth, a dream, a figment of the imagination.

The late Hugh Pentecost, a New York lawyer, speaking of the age-long Russian struggle for freedom, said, "Since 1800 hundreds of thousands of Russian political prisoners have been exiled to Siberia. They suffered in the great cause of freedom, often leaving comfortable homes, and they were Athiests to the last man and woman." But the frothy superficial Wells, who possibly never missed a meal in the cause of humanity, would call these men and women fools and hypocrites, if he could not introduce King Charles' head into the subject, and so account for their self-sacrifice. The fact is, Mr. Wells is saturated with Teutonic individualism. He does not even glimpse the truth that notwithstanding the enormous powers of production, the happiness of even the wealthiest member of the community, and even his safety, is dependent upon the community of which he is a unit.

Why is Rockefeller so anxious to defend his conduct from the attacks of critics? Why does Carnegie try to exonerate himself from blame for the Homestead massacre? Because of the social instinct, the desire to be considered good tribesmen and worthy of the praise of their fellowmen. The social instinct permeates our entire life and conduct and is the dynamic force prompting men to self-sacrifice and even martyrdom, and is evident in both animal and human beings.

In his admirable essay on "The Proletarian Method," in Dietzgen's "Philosophical Essays," Eugene Dietzgen says:—"The indissoluble interrelation of the individual with society rests, according to us, on his helplessness if left with no other resource for his maintenance and defence, but his own labor power. Man is therefore compelled to seek the assistance of other men. This dependence explains the inevitable social nature of individual labor power. Marx calls the understanding of this nature of individual labor-power the essential point which is required for an intelligent discussion of political economy. It is the great merit of Marx and Engels to have substantiated and propagated this knowledge. This is the basis of the analysis in Marx's "Capital," this reveals the dual nature of private property; this furnishes the key for an understanding of the nature of commodities, value, money, capital and of the entire social science. It also lays bare the kernel of such terms as morality, right, state, authority, etc."

The verifiable theory of the necessity of social existence, withdraws heroic and self-sacrificing impulse and action from the sphere of the deaf and dumb gods, and sets it on a natural and therefore scientific basis. Of course, there is no objection to bourgeois thinkers exercising their imaginations describing the characteristics and attributes of mythical beings;

Question: What is meant by the term "labour?"

Answer: Mind and muscle (i.e., power) capable of being applied to the material resources of the earth to produce wealth.

Q: What is "wealth?"

A: Things worth something—articles of value.

A: The result of labour economically (i.e., wisely and without waste) expended upon things required by society for its maintenance and satisfaction, mental and physical.

Q: Does not land produce wealth without labour?

A: No. Land is merely the valueless material out of which labour creates wealth.

Q: How comes it, then, that individuals become rich by becoming possessed of "land values?"

A: What is called "land values" exists by virtue of the mere fact that labour exists, and fluctuates in accordance with the degree of certainty that labour must inevitably use it (the land). "Land values" realised is prepaid surplus value, or money advanced upon the calculation that much more money will be realised at a future period from exploited labour.

Q: Does not machinery produce wealth?

A: Not in itself. Machinery is a labour-created aid to labour. It supplements the muscle of labour.

Q: And superior ability?

A: Superior mental ability is a social quality and growth which does not belong to, but manifests itself in, the individual. Like machinery, it produces nothing in itself, but supplements the mind of labour.

Q: Can you explain it more fully?

A: Labour consists of two factors—mind and muscle. The former directs the latter, but both are absolutely necessary and interdependent. One cannot create values without the other, and neither is inferior nor superior. Both, in fact, are one and called "labour." Mind and muscle exist in degree among individuals, and mind particularly is a social product. It is manifest in all the works of man we see around us. The greatest mind is perhaps more than 90 per cent. social and less than 10 per cent. (if at all) individual. It is not more surprising that one man should have a superior brain than that another should have a superior arm or muscle. An individual mind might contribute but the merest iota to a great scheme, and get almost the entire credit. Superior mental ability makes a superior labourer, but nothing can be thought into becoming wealth. It must be transformed by physical effort.

Q: What is "capital?"

A: Capital (i.e., the means of production) is wealth used to produce surplus values.

Q: What do you mean by "surplus value?"

A: Value created by labour in excess of its hire is surplus value. "Surplus value" is that portion of wealth produced by labour which is appropriated by the capitalist (owner of the means of production). It might be termed "unpaid labour" or "wealth of which labour is robbed."

Q: What is "profit?"

A: "Profit" is, or should be, "surplus value." The term is in practice meant to convey the idea of gain. Some employers include the value of their own labour with the "surplus values" appropriated from their hired labourers and call it "profit." With many small traders "profit" is the reward of their toil, and in many cases they are underpaid, their labour not being "socially necessary" labour. In the cases of big corporations, the profits are less than the surplus value.

but there is a decided objection when they saddle innocent men with their own mental follies and superstitions.

ues, because much of the latter is written off in press subsidies, donations to charities, churches, political parties, and other pillars of the capitalist system. The term "surplus value" is used in preference to "profit," because it has an exact meaning.

Q: What is "wages?"

A: "Wages" represents the price paid for the hire of labour. The condition of wage payment is that the labourer should create values in excess of the price paid for its hire.

Q: Who owns capital?

A: The capitalist class.

Q: Has not the capitalist class as owner of the means of production, the right to all labour produced by the help of its capital?

A: Certainly, if we admit the right of the capitalist class to own the means of production, which we don't.

Q: Why do you dispute the right of the capitalist class to own the means of production—land, mines, machinery, factories, etc.?

A: Because land, the private property which first enslaved labour and led to its divorce from all forms of capital, was originally stolen from aborigines who held it in common. The right of the capitalist class to these things was its right to take and hold. Labour's right to take and hold is its "right." Labour alone has a use for land, and will come into its own.

Q: Has labour no moral right apart from its power to take and hold?

A: It has. The capitalist class did not produce land and sources of wealth, and has therefore no moral right whatever to claim ownership in these, especially when its ownership is a detriment and means of suffering and death to so many members of human society.

Q: Will not the capitalist class recognize the justice of this claim, and hand over the means of production (life) to society?

A: History and present tendency point the other way. At all times classes have fought to maintain their privileges irrespective of what was or wasn't moral.

Q: Can you provide a good example?

A: A leaf out of Washington's life, and analogy it provides to the "good and moral" owner of capital.

Q: To what do you refer?

A: Washington owned something less than a thousand slaves. He freely expressed his abhorrence of slavery. When Lafayette bought an estate and freed the slaves on it, Washington wrote: "Your late purchase is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit would diffuse itself generally in the minds of the people." Yet Washington clung to his private ownership of human slaves as long as he lived, just as owners of capital do to-day. Many of the latter leave wills bequeathing their property in whole or part to society, just as Washington left a will expressing his desire to have those slaves freed which he held in his own right; but not until the decease of his wife.

Q: But Washington in a letter to Jefferson declared it one of his first wishes to see a plan adopted by which slavery in America might be abolished by law. Is that not so?

A: Sure. And even his superior intelligence and six subsequent years' presidency of the United States did not evolve any plan. No modification of society has ever been planned. Society is a growth and in its development upsets the grandest theories and plans of mere men, this because it obeys "economic" and not "man-made" laws.

Q: Do you mean to suggest that we cannot be legislated into a new and grander form of society; that we cannot abolish private property by law?

A: Not unless it registers a stage already attained in economic development.

Laws may go with economic development, but the latter will never follow legislatures or the plans devised by politicians.

Q: Do not leading Socialists assert that capitalism will be abolished by legislative authority?

A: To some extent, but that does not and will not alter facts. To use Washington again for illustration. Referring to the abolition of slavery, he wrote: "There is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority." It was, however, accomplished by nothing less than a revolution. The same may happen again.

Q: And how do you propose to abolish capitalism?

A: By the "proper and effectual" mode, which has a different meaning at different periods. We can only organise the forces at our command, and prepare for the course Nature in the exercise of her divine, inexorable, and irresistible laws will dictate.

Q: What are the forces at your command to-day, and whence come they?

A: As only the working class is exclusively and unquestionably interested in abolishing capitalist domination, it is exclusively and unquestionably the source of our revolutionary movement. To-day the working class is manifesting its powers in (to the capitalist class) an alarming degree. The working class is being prepared by natural evolution for its great work—or as it is sometimes described—its historic mission to overthrow the capitalist system of private ownership of things socially used and production for profit and substitute a new society wherein things socially used will be socially owned and wealth be produced for the use and enjoyment of society as a whole.

Q: How is it being so prepared?

A: The growth of the trust, with its corollaries—subdivision of labour and elimination of craft, destruction of small capital and elimination of the middleman, thus decreasing the number who control the industries and increasing the numbers of "consciousness" of the working class—is bringing us to a stage when the bulk of the workers, being reduced to a common level of misery and degradation, will observe the enormous benefit to be derived from the change of ownership of the means of production from the few to all society, and the ease with which this desirable change might be accomplished, and will take the necessary action to inaugurate a new, and it is anticipated, a happier era. In other words, co-operation is now a rapidly developing feature of production, and will inevitably force the same co-operative principle upon all other phases of our social existence. We will co-operate to enjoy as well as produce.

Q: What action can the working class take?

A: The passing of trade unionism represents the final destruction of privileged sects, which were accustomed in defence of their privileges to fight, and thus enervate, the class to which all belonged. The growth of industrial or "class" unionism is the recognition that all workers have a common cause to fight for, and that to win all must stand together—engineer with scavenger, clerk with chimney sweep, miner with railway man, farm labourer with shop assistant, for the overthrow of capitalism. The Socialist Party exists to reflect and serve the economic organisations upon the political field.

Q: Will the emancipation of the working class be won on the political or the industrial field?

A: It will be won on both if it is to be won speedily and well. All depends on the wisdom of the fighters in using each field in just its proper proportion for just its proper purpose. But it will be won.

Q: And your guiding principle?

A: We express it with the phrase, "Co-operate with evolution; educate towards revolution!"

—From the "International Socialist Review."

Revolutionary Organisation.

WHAT FOR?

By Millicent Hollywood.

The Socialist who believes his ideals and ambitions for the emancipation of his class can be achieved by POLITICAL organisation alone, is like the drunk who seeks to gain an upright position by sticking his thumbs in his own waistcoat armholes: he only succeeds in looking excessively funny. For even granting that there is in any country, a completely democratic system of government, so that there a Socialist popular majority might win the supremacy merely by means of the ballot box. Is there anyone in the world of such sweet and childlike innocence who believes that the capitalist class will allow itself to be simply VOTED out of power without resistance?

Would the bourgeoisie, which is convinced that Socialism signifies the end of all civilisation and the destruction of all human happiness, allow it to come peacefully into power, bewitched by the sacredness of a legal formula created by itself?

The function of political organisation is to act as the recruiting agent for the industrial organisation, and to stand as a buffer and watch dog between the master class and the subject class.

In the political struggle the classes appear in their real nature. Not only the industrial employer, with whom the unions are struggling, but all the groups of the bourgeoisie, high finance colonial capitalists, international crooks, the agrarian, the merchant, are represented, and form the bourgeoisie which rules the State. There is not only the question of wages, but the entire system of exploitation, with all its social legislation, militarism, taxes, the whole public life are upon the regular order of business.

The revolutionary who may be returned to Parliament, will fight there over each individual question with the representatives of the bourgeoisie, for the interest of the working class are **opposed** to the interest of the robber class in **all** respects, taxes, factory legislation, housing, schooling, militarism, administration of justice. Hence the activity of the Socialist parliamentary representative will not consist of making flowery speeches about his own and his constituents' loyalty to the capitalist state, nor in working for reformist measures, but in a ceaseless struggle over practical questions of the moment, in bringing each question into its proper relationship to the entire capitalist system. The Socialist conscription of life, and their trenchant criticisms of the capitalist system will open the workers' eyes to a great extent, and the working class will realise better the nature of capitalism.

For this reason political action and organisation is necessary, but political action alone will never get us out of the morass of capitalism; it can and does point out the most advantageous means for developing and increasing the power of the proletariat—revolutionary industrial organisation, which is the principle means of making the working class strong—not merely strong enough to put up more or less successful struggles against the machinations of international crookdom, but strong enough to completely abolish international crookdom from the earth for good and all.

It is imperative that we have our class organised according to industry instead of on craft lines, in order to enforce the legal enactments of their political representatives.

As the political is the reflex of the industrial organisation, it will when sufficiently strong, vote private ownership of the means of life out as illegal, and the working class industrially organised will clinch the matter by remaining in possession of the plants of production, distribution, producing wealth for the use of all, and thus removing for all time the system of robbery.

Revolutionary Industrial Organisation will enable our class to snap the "darbies" upon the wrists of international gilt edged crookdom, and lodge it where it won't arise again to blast and blight humanity.

The Revolutionary Industrial Union has a greater significance and power than the political, for it contributes a greater social power to the proletariat, inasmuch as it invites the proletariat in one mighty organisation, in which the common strug-

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

IPSWICH BRANCH.

We have back in our midst an old comrade by the name of Andy Lee, whose recent activities will be best known to comrades on the south coast (N.S.W.). We expect that after a few weeks' spell he will get into harness again. Andy will be quite an acquisition to the local branch.

Comrade Harry Borean, of Brisbane, has promised to get all available speakers for Ipswich meetings. Harry, by the way, was up in Toowoomba for a short period, and did some excellent propaganda work, which I hope in the near future will be the means of establishing a branch there.

There is another township, not very far distant from Ipswich, Darra by name, where I hope to see another branch opened up. I will do all in my limited leisure moments to get a go on. In a month's time you will either have to enlarge the paper or extend the branch directory. "Wait and see."

Friday, 1st February, saw the commencement of our out-door propaganda. Miss Kathleen Hotson, from South Australia, was principal speaker, who spoke from the industrial, anti-patriotic, international viewpoint. The applause which greeted at intervals her puissant invective goes to show that the people are getting tired of inept, insipid platitudes of the pseudo Labor politicians.

Immediately after the meeting I was asked by a few W.P.O. members to give them application forms for membership. This branch ought to make its presence felt in the days that are to come, and with Andy Lee among us we may see an economic class realised. Comrades, be up and doing, the big fight is before us.

"Come, let us cast off all fooling,
For this, at least, we know,
The day and the dawn are coming,
So forth our banners go."
—Morris.

By those who have brushed away mental cobwebs and taken the cotton-wool out of their ears, let this appeal be heard and apply to local secretary.

Yours for the Social Revolution,
P. STALKER, Brisbane St.

gle for human emancipation takes the place of the individual struggle for jobs and the craft struggle for palliatives. Alone, the worker is absolutely helpless; in craft unions his plight is possibly worse, for we see our craft pitted against one another and actually bolstering up the system of international gilt edged crookdom. Only as a collectivity, as a great industrial organisation (whose ideal and ambition is the abolition of capitalism and the freedom of humanity) whose members act unitedly in the common interest, can be achieved a real success.

The industrial union is the school of discipline, and it teaches the workers through ever new experiences that one of their class cannot be injured without an injury to all being the result. Revolutionary Industrial Unionists are not seeking peaceable agreements with the boss, nor preaching about the MUTUAL interest of labor and capital. They are labor against capitalism, and their aim is the removal of the whole weight of slavery and robbery from the backs of the workers, and to break the yoke which has galled humanity for so long.

The working masses oppressed, powerless, hence timid and fearful, will become bold and energetic only when they feel behind them the industrially organised might of their class; the solidarity of the world's wealth producers. Then they will feel themselves capable of grappling with the whole mighty power of international crookdom.

Only by means of revolutionary organisation on all fields, in the industries and the political, and of a struggle which upholds all the immediate interest of our class, and which is filled with the spirit of Socialism, a struggle on class lines, built on the solid foundation of Marxian science, can the power of the proletariat become great enough to abolish the capitalist system. And by doing so bring humanity forth from the wilderness into the land of promise. Let us live for "the day."

SYDNEY BRANCH.

The lecture in the hall on January 27th was delivered by Miss I. Swann, her subject being "The Sanctity of Treaties." The lecture was very interesting, the lecturer pointing out that treaties drawn up by nations never had or never would be honored; she gave several instances of this fact, and incidentally some very educative and interesting historical facts in connection with it.

The speaker went on to say that in her opinion, although she was decidedly anti-militarist, it was impossible to do away with militarism altogether, and that a good step towards it would be to form a league of nations or an International Parliament, to which every nation would be answerable; and under such circumstances wars would be considerably lessened, if not done away with altogether.

On the following Sunday Comrade Reardon replied to Miss Swann, pointing out that there already existed an international employers' federation, and that International Parliament so far as the workers were concerned amounted to much the same thing. So long as the present system lasted nothing could possibly do away with wars or militarism, both being necessary to its upkeep. He also showed that a league was no more binding than a treaty, and that if a country wanted to go to war with another nation, so soon as it had strengthened its forces, there was nothing on earth to prevent it.

Comrade Reardon, of course, finished his lecture by emphatically stating that the only hope of eternal peace was by inauguration of Socialism, that then, and then only, would wars be impossible and peace assured for all time.

MARCIA REARDON, Sec.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED.

W. Harding, 2/-; W. Dixon, 2/-; H. R. Fowler, 4/-; W. A. Smith, 1/-; E. Heinicke, 5/-; F. Gasperin, 2/-; I. Dalsgard, 4/-; Freiderich, 4/-; H. Williams, 4/-; E. Braithwaite, 4/6; Miss E. Newton, 1/-; J. Szepanski, 4/-; E. Tasker, 1/-; J. Lewis, 1/-; W. P. Roach, 2/-; A. Neilson, 1/-; A. Larsen, 2/-; J. Cogan, 2/-; G. Reeve, 1/-; M. Gosling, 2/-; Miss Bugler, 4/-; Redmond, 1/-; A. Tolland, 1/-; E. Byrne, 1/-; J. Hamilton, 2/-; M. Connolly, 4/-; J. Kegg, 2/-; J. B. Newton, 4/-; C. Pileher, 1/-; F. Anderson, 1/-; L. Nicholson, 2/-; F. Herzog, 1/-; F. Mason, 2/-; P. Lamb, 2/-; A. Sommers, 2/-; W. Peterson, 2/-; J. Scott, 2/-; O. Blane, 1/-.

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J. Szepanski, 2/-; M. Gosling, 1/-; Enthusiastic, 4/-.

THE ECONOMIC CLASS IS BEING HELD IN THE HALL ON EACH MONDAY NIGHT AT 8 O'CLOCK. COMRADES AND FRIENDS ARE REQUESTED TO ROLL UP AND MAKE IT A SUCCESS.

The W. I. I. U.

Newtown, Sydney Local, No. 1, of W.I.I.U., held its annual meeting on 3rd Feb., 1918, at Hattie's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: Min. Sec., F. W. F. Hancock; Treas., F. W. T. Laidler; Financial Sec., F. W. Wm. E. Gay.

Next meeting of the Local will be held on 20th Feb., 1918. All fellow workers and intending members are reminded to roll up and help to build up the union of their class.

All wage earners should roll up any night and have a chat over their position in society and how to better them.

WM. E. GAY,
Sec. Newtown-Sydney Local of W.I.I.U.

SOCIALIST HALL
369 Pitt Street.

EVERY FRIDAY EVENING, DANCE.
LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with, the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Secullar Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

COONAMAL BRANCH.

R. Lewis, Main Street, Coonamal, Secretary.

IPSWICH BRANCH.

P. Stalker, Short's Bonding House, Brisbane Street, Ipswich, Secretary.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

41 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members. Lectures held every Sunday evening. Economic Class every Wednesday evening. Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARAMIE.

Secretary, Chas. Jacobson, Mt. Laramie, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hattie's Arcade, King St., Newtown. Library for members. Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City. Library for members. Lecture every Sunday evening. Debating class held every Monday evening. Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening. Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

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Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.
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New Socialism. The—R. R. La-Montagne; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

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